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This paper considers some of the implications involved in the utilization of the poor as employees of the welfare system. Major reasons for employing welfare recipients lie in the manpower shortage and the need to free professionals for professional responsibilities. It is suggested that agencies consider a system redesign which develops job careers for the preprofessional through the separation of aid and services. Four distinct areas where preprofessionals could serve are as clerical staff, as technicians in the aid delivery system, as various assistants in the services such as homemakers, day care personnel, housing specialist, home-health aides, and employment counselors, and as community workers who provide a bridge between the agency and the community. Selection criteria should stress life experiences and the willingness to learn with training responsibility undertaken by the agency. There is limited experience in the use of preprofessional personnel in public welfare, but important approaches can be found in other human service programs. (KP)

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EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR AS PREPROFESSIONALS

John E. Hiland, Jr.

Supplement No. 5

Public Welfare -- Challenge to Validity

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American Public Welfare Association

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FOREWORD

In the spring of 1967, the Technical Assistance Project of the American Public Welfare Association produced an introductory paper entitled Public Welfare -- Challenge to Validity.

That paper identified basic commitments of public welfare and some of the major barriers in the system which tend to obstruct the fulfillment of these commitments. It went on to suggest a number of propositions for making systemic changes in welfare operations which seem likely to permit the fulfillment of these commitments at a much higher level.

The purposes of the propositions were to identify general directions of changes in program concepts and operations; to strengthen elements in public welfare practice which function to enhance adequate maintenance levels; to foster practical enabling and developmental services; to promote the dignity and freedom of the poor; and to offset many of the depressive aspects of the current system.

A series of supplements to Public Welfare -- Challenge to Validity is being developed to make these propositions more useful to those who want to translate them into actual program development. They do not pretend to be operational blueprints. Recognizing that welfare departments function in differing social and economic contexts and that the milieu of the poor varies from place to place, our concern is to point to certain areas critical to implementing public welfare commitments and to suggest a variety of avenues of constructive action.

A variety of components have been suggested in the hope that a welfare administration seriously interested in practical development could find elements suitable for use under local conditions. Operational details would have to be developed to make them workable in any specific situation.

This supplement is the fifth (Supplement No. 2 has not yet been published) of the series. It asks public welfare administrators and their staff to consider the possibility that they already have at hand, largely unused, the solutions to some thorny problems. The author suggests that the means exist even now to offset the scarcity of employees, to provide the personnel to staff crucial services, and even to find the fiscal resources for doing it. How much of the manpower shortage ultimately must be traced to the outlook and choices of public welfare itself? How many recipients are condemned to unnecessary and indefinite dependence, at the substandard level afforded by assistance payments, simply because public welfare has not had the courage and vision to use the same state-local dollars as the base of a much more adequate wage? Potentially, many recipients are capable employees, performing services badly needed by public welfare, by other recipients, and by the public.

It would be a sad and ironic commentary if public welfare had to be counted among the managers of those industries which have failed to use the "hardcore" unemployed; if it took a strange satisfaction in continuing to pay meager maintenance grants when the same funds could be used to create opportunities for better maintenance, progressive responsibility, and lasting satisfaction in creative work.

If public welfare is going to disprove this "commentary," it must ask some hard questions that require solid thought and, more important, decisive action.

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J. M. Wedemeyer
Director
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July 1, 1968

EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR AS PREPROFESSIONALS

John E. Hiland, Jr.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Technical Assistance Project of the American Public Welfare Association formulates as one "commitment" "to use all feasible avenues of dialogue, communication, confrontation and involvement with the recipients, and with the community of the poor of which they are a part, as methods of increasing mutual understanding of problems and possible solutions."[1] From this "commitment" the following "proposition" is suggested as a change in the existing welfare system. "Expanding and improving the various means of communication, mutual understanding and involvement of recipients and other poor people."[2] Two of the examples mentioned as ways of implementing the "proposition" are "employing recipients or members of poorer neighborhoods as community aides."[3] And, "employing and training recipients or members of the poorer communities as case aides or members of service units."[4]

The material developed in this supplement will attempt to expand the above Project assumptions and consider some of the implications involved in broader utilization of the poor as employees of the welfare system.

In addition to making public welfare more responsive by introducing into the chain of communications--between the servers and served--those who can speak to and interpret for both groups, there appear to be at least three other identifiable justifications for considering ways to use more of the poor as employees in the welfare system. Two of these are related to the present manpower situation: to provide the agency with the desperately needed manpower without which we will be unable to meet demand in the coming decades; and, to make it possible for the agency to concentrate professional time on professional tasks by redefining the jobs and assigning all responsibilities that can be appropriately carried by persons with other skills.

In a recent publication by the U. S. Labor Department, the following suggestions were made in order to resolve the "critical" labor shortage:

> "To structure social work tasks so that people with bachelor's degrees can participate in them as fully as possible is another objective dictated by the short supply of personnel with graduate training. It is important to open more opportunities for on-the-job training and significant responsibilities to promising college

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1 Public Welfare - Challenge to Validity, Technical Assistance Project, American Public Welfare Association, July, 1967, p. 4.

2 Ibid., p. 16.

3 Ibid., p. 17.

4 Ibid., p. 17.

> graduates who could do much of the work of fully qualified professionals. In addition, persons with a high school or junior college education or less can and should be used increasingly in auxiliary positions such as day care aide, social welfare technician, correctional aide, and community worker.
>
> "The use of nonprofessional aides, working under the direction of professionally trained personnel, has increased in recent years in many professions with personnel shortages, especially in the health field. Training for such nonprofessional jobs is being developed under the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and is also provided in projects conducted under the Manpower Development and Training Act. So far, however, very few social work aides have been trained through these programs."[5]

The statistics on population growth and "risk group" distribution makes it all but impossible to believe that even greatly expanded professional and/or undergraduate schools will be able, using the conventional training methods, to supply enough professionals for social welfare agencies to rely on professional staff alone to carry out their responsibilities. Professional resources must be supplemented by preprofessionals employed to assist in or to carry out those responsibilities that can reasonably be so performed.

For years, the public welfare field has agreed that certain tasks should be removed from the professional's job and placed with some other staff member. With the exception of a few "clerical aide" experiments, the professional continues to be unable to provide meaningful service because of the variety of tasks, and other technical skills required. The use of preprofessionals could greatly expand the variety and availability of various forms of enabling and complementary services. This seems important, both as a means of conserving highly skilled professional effort, and of increasing effectiveness of such effort by providing resources for meeting many of the immediate practical needs and situations which must be available before movement can occur.

Another justification for our greater use of the preprofessional in public welfare is simply to provide employment for recipients and potential recipients--providing jobs for poor prople in the public sector--the fastest growing segment of the economy and the one area in which prospects are bright for long-range and continuing growth. One out of every three residents in slum areas in U. S. cities has a serious employment problem. Interestingly enough, one out of three persons in the slum areas is a welfare recipient. Thus, welfare departments themselves have a very substantial stake in developing such avenues as this, as one of the means of attacking continued dependency.

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5 Professional and Supporting Personnel - A Reprint from the 1967 Manpower Report, U. S. Department of Labor - Manpower Administration, 1967.

One of the major criticisms of welfare and its present efforts in work and training programs is that we tend to limit consideration only to certain kinds of traditional menial types of work, largely to be performed somewhere else than in the welfare setting, even though there is considerable evidence that many people can work effectively in other roles, given opportunities, guidance and training. There seems to be little going on in present Work-Training projects in this area. And where it does occur, it is mostly for clerical types of positions.

Another frequently voiced criticism of welfare is the low standard of maintenance which legislators seem loath to change, as a means of increasing grants. This suggests that a careful look should be taken at potentials that exist for moving recipients to worker personnel status whenever possible. For many, provided constructive jobs in service units, the state-local share of public assistance could equally well provide the state-local share of a salary much closer to adequacy than the public assistance grant. It might also alleviate the possible hardships resulting from any arbitrary "freeze" on the number of recipients granted aid.

A considerable amount of activity has been taking place on the congressional scene with respect to further encouragement of public agencies to provide employment opportunities to recipients and other poor members of the community. In addition to the Scheuer proposal and New Careers programs, at least two bills were seriously considered by the 90th Congress which specifically addressed themselves to the guaranteed job concept.[6]

The Harris Amendment to PL 90-248 certainly places the responsibility directly on the public welfare agencies to begin planning for the use of preprofessionals as employees. From the discussion of the Senate Finance Committee the following statement was made:

> "The Committee is aware that a variety of jobs must be done in the administration of the public assistance programs and that not all of them require the services of professional staff.
>
> "Some tasks can be done by persons with less than college education - high school graduates or even by persons with less than high school education. The use of subprofessional staff

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6 H.R. 12280, The Guaranteed Employment Act of 1967, "Declaration of Findings, Purpose, and Policy," Section 2, paragraph (b), "The Congress further finds and declares that to further implement the goal of full employment it shall be the continuing policy of the Federal Government to develop a program consistent with overall economic and manpower policies, with the active assistance and cooperation of state and local government agencies, and with nonprofit private agencies primarily in the public service area, for the purpose of guaranteeing productive employment opportunities for those of the unemployed and underemployed who are able, willing and seeking to work."

H.R. 12187, Emergency Employment Act of 1967, "Findings and Declaration of Purpose," Section 102, paragraph (c), "Therefore, it is the purpose of this Act to provide meaningful employment opportunities in public service and other activities which will relieve severe unemployment in urban and rural areas and contribute to the national interest by fulfilling unmet needs."

> has not been sufficiently developed by public welfare agencies nor has the use of community service aides reached its potential. For this reason, the bill would require the States to amend their plans by July 1, 1969, to provide for the training and effective use of paid subprofessional staff, emphasizing the full-time or part-time employment of recipients and other persons of low income as community aides."[7]

This legislation is a response to the recognized need which exists in this country for increasing mutual respect and understanding and for improving communication among all groups of people in the community who are too often isolated from one another; for increasing knowledge of the poor, their living conditions, their problems, their strengths and aspirations; and for providing opportunity for those who are poor to participate in community service--to effect the environment in which they live.

II. SOME POTENTIALS FOR EMPLOYING THE POOR

Before discussing specific considerations that seem appropriate, it might be noted that one of the most perplexing problems in this area is related to nomenclature and/or descriptive titles for assigned tasks. The use of the poor as employees has been referred to as nonprofessionals, subprofessionals, para-technicians, etc. There does not seem to be any common agreement in the field at this point in time. For purposes of the following discussion, the generic term preferred by this author for all persons employed by an agency from the community of the poor to perform supporting and/or special tasks and not requiring a college degree will be referred to as preprofessionals. This term seems most appropriate, and incorporates the New Careers concept of potential upward mobility.

Job Assignments

The number and variety of assignments for preprofessionals in a public welfare agency would depend upon many factors. The major ones would seem to be: the willingness of the agency to provide career opportunities, the scope of services of the agency, the characteristics of the community being served, and the training capacity of the agency and/or community.

There is a difference in talking about preprofessionals in terms of tasks, jobs, and staffing patterns in the existing welfare system, as compared to what these might be in a possible different system. Rather than merely breaking out parts of existing functions to broaden the base of agency services, it would seem more beneficial to approach the development of job careers for preprofessionals through a system redesign. Only through the process of defining the purpose, objectives, major work areas and tasks, can the agency construct meaningful career ladders for all personnel. With the introduction of the concept of separation of aid and service functions, there would be at least four distinct areas of employment in an agency where preprofessionals could be utilized.

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7 Social Security Amendments of 1967, Report of the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, to accompany H.R. 12080, November 4, 1967, p. 170.

1. Clerical. Many agencies are presently hiring former recipients and other poor people as clerical workers. Some work-training projects are directed toward further development of this use of preprofessionals in typing, filing, etc., as well as certain fiscal and research activities. Experimentation with the use of unit clerks and administrative aides has demonstrated the value of separating out traditional social work tasks to be performed by preprofessional personnel.

2. Financial Aid Delivery System. With the separation of the aid and service function, a new career potential develops for preprofessional persons within the Financial Aid Delivery System. In addition to necessary clerical and/or fiscal personnel, positions can be identified as interviewers or various specialists in the eligibility and budgeting areas. Many of the present personnel in public welfare agencies as well as potential preprofessional employees would prefer the more exacting tasks of a technician in the assitance payment section to the less defined operation of service units.

Although it would seem advisable to develop a career program for welfare technicians with, perhaps, an entrance level for preprofessionals as trainees, the two states which have done the most extensive development with separate financial aid and service operations have chosen to classify such employees as Eligibility Workers and Case Aides. Although the positions are geared to the two-year Community College and/or Junior College graduate, the administrative staff has indicated that this would not preclude a substitution of certain experience for the academic work.

California has defined the Eligibility Worker position as follows: "Under supervision, to determine initial and continuing eligibility for one or more aids in accordance with established procedures; to refer applicants and recipients who appear to be in need of social services to appropriate social work staff members; and to perform other duties as required."[8]

Maine's position description for the Case Aide in the Bureau of Social Welfare contains the following general statement: "Under the general supervision of the District Supervisor or his appointee, the Case Aide performs a variety of services to public assistance applicants and recipients usually in the AABD category. She carries assigned responsibilities in regard to clearly defined procedures with the major focus of her activities directed toward the determination of financial eligibility. In these activities she is directly responsible for the disbursement of large sums of money as well as those related activities encompassed in the provision of financial services. This variety of important technical and specialized duties are performed in one of the geographical districts maintained by the Division of Family Services."[9]

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8 Guide Material for Department Bulletin No. 651 - Revision of OAS Administration, State of California, State Department of Social Welfare, March, 1967, p. 50.

9 Position Description, Bureau of Social Welfare - Case Aide, State of Maine, Department of Health and Welfare, Division of Family Services, 1967.

3. Service Delivery System. The preprofessional's tasks with the service units and/or divisions would be directly related to the scope of services the agency provides. Some of the more common would include: social work aides and/or assistants, legal service aides, medical service aides, homemakers, day care and foster care personnel, home-health aides, and various technicians and/or specialists in housing, employment counseling, consumer education, group leadership, neighborhood work, etc. The use of preprofessionals provides a means for public welfare agencies to expand and improve the range and quality of their services, to make them more immediately responsive to changing needs in the community, and to fulfill their basic goals of service to people.

In one demonstration project in a public welfare setting, the aides' job is defined as "basically to help clients with money management, nutrition, use of community agencies or child care."[10] Another public welfare agency has defined the role of the "vocational worker" preprofessional as follows: to "assist the client to make use of community resources; for instance in the use of medical facilties and services. Concrete services such as planning how to get to clinics, provide for care of children while away from home, use of public transportation, preparation of what to expect, are areas that would assist the client to utilize services."[11]

4. Community Worker (Communications System). The community worker would ideally function in a role detached from the operating line organization of either aid or service units, as a "bridge" between the agency administration and the community. In addition to this very important two-way communication role, functioning both vertically and horizontally to service and aid units, preprofessionals might provide certain services in cooperation with the services unit. (The term "community worker" seems preferable to the commonly-used "neighborhood worker," in that it would be more easily transferable to rural areas.)

One example of the use by a welfare department of such preprofessionals in conjunction with a Neighborhood Emergency Social Service Center is a demonstration project in Michigan. The agency has defined the task as "providing neighborhood residents with information concerning available welfare resources, and supporting and helping them to take needed action."[12] Examples of specific duties include the follow-

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10 Preliminary Report of the Welfare Service Aide Project, California Department of Social Welfare, Projects Division, March, 1967, p. 1.

11 Betty J. Queen and Oscar J. Kurtz, Career Ladders in Social Welfare Services, District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare, April, 1967, p. 22.

12 Job Specification - Neighborhood Worker, Demonstration Project, Neighborhood Emergency Social Service Center, Muskegon, Michigan, State of Michigan Department of Social Services, August, 1967, p. 1.

ing: "Initiates, renews, and maintains open channels of communication between the welfare office and neighborhood residents. Provides staff members with information regarding the needs, resources, and problems of the neighborhood, based on first-hand observation, informal interviews, and personal experience. Visits neighborhood residents and merchants and develops information on available housing and employment opportunities. Maintains after-hour service for clients with emergency problems - referring them to sources of help or to a staff member, etc."[13]

Another rather unique use of preprofessionals in a communicating role was proposed as a project by the Connecticut Department of Public Welfare. Drawing on the success of the Medicare Alert system, preprofessional personnel was to be used for a food stamp alert. Designed to bring about better communications between the State Welfare Department and potential and current recipients of the Food Stamp Program, it provided job opportunities for low income inner-city residents, with planned opportunities for the employees to use this experience in qualifying for permanent employment with various state and/or federal agencies.[14]

III. ENTRANCE REQUIREMENTS AND SELECTION CRITERIA

There is a great amount of variation in the entrance level requirements for preprofessional personnel, but apparently general agreement that the academic requirement should be less than a college degree. Although there is increasing interest in, and development of, special preparation of preprofessional personnel among community and/or junior colleges, most advocates of the New Career projects argue that the entrance level positions should not require any college preparation. Most of the programs that have used preprofessional personnel emphasize other criteria as being more significant than education preparation.

Mary Ellen Hoffman found, in a Pittsburgh Family and Children's Service project, that the preprofessionals "show good judgment, follow directions, render practical services well, and provide better models for identification than the professional worker can."[15] With respect to selection of these employees she states:

> "We did not set an educational requirement. We chose persons who appeared to have a degree of personal security, the ability to be outgoing, and the ability to bear hostility and anxiety; also persons who had been exposed to experiences that would prepare them in some way for the project--child-rearing, work on a housing survey, work in a public school, work in a settlement house and hospital, sales work, driving a car for the agency, and church work."[16]

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13 Ibid., p. 1.

14 Demonstration Project Request, Food Stamp Alert (draft copy), Connecticut State Welfare Department, Bureau of Social Services, November, 1967.

15 Mary Ellen Hoffman, "An Agency Begins Service Under the Economic Opportunity Act," Unpublished (mimeo), October, 1965, p. 8.

16 Ibid., p. 9.

In keeping with its experimental program goals, the Institute for Youth Studies (formerly the Center for Youth and Community Studies) at Howard University set much more liberal standards of eligibility for trainees than those usually faced by applicants for employment. For example:

> "Educational Level. Most jobs in the human service field require at least high school education. IYS's programs are specifically directed toward preparing school dropouts for rewarding jobs. We, therefore, require only a fifth grade reading level, except in one instance where the policy of the community agency requires that only high school graduates be employed.
>
> "Work Experience. Most jobs emphasize previous work experience. IYS did not require any previous experience.
>
> "Police Record. Most jobs require a clean police record. IYS did not screen out applicants with records of delinquency or other involvement with the law. The program did require that no court action be pending against applicants, since such action might have created disruptive interruptions in training.
>
> "Personal Characteristics and Health. Many selection processes stress neatness, poise and other socially acceptable characteristics. Again because of its emphasis on reaching out to disadvantaged applicants, IYS required only that they be free of serious physical or mental problems and communicable diseases.
>
> "Psychological Rating. Applicants for many types of jobs are now asked to take certain psychological tests. IYS sometimes used such tests as a research device. It did not, however, screen out applicants on the basis of the findings.
>
> "Aptitude. Many selection processes utilize aptitude tests. Such tests have been found to be unreliable indices of the aptitudes of severely disadvantaged groups, since they are based on middle-class concepts and experience. IYS, therefore, made little use of them.
>
> "Age. Many jobs have restrictive age requirements which discriminate against young people and those past middle age. IYS's trainees in various programs ranged from 16 to 65.
>
> "Sex. Many jobs are open only to members of one sex. Both male and female applicants were accepted in all of IYS's training programs, since one important aspect of the research was to break down traditional limiting barriers, and test the use of trainees in new roles. For example, men between the ages of 16 and 21 were trained as day care aides."[17]

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17 New Careers Development Program - New Careers in Human Services, A Manual of Organization and Process, University Research Corporation, Washington, D. C., May, 1967, pp. 22-24.

Frank Riessman and Arthur Pearl, the chief theoreticians of the New Career plans, emphasize the extreme importance of careful selection and training of the preprofessional personnel. A talent that seems especially desirable--but somewhat rare--is the mediator between social classes. "These nonprofessionals should be people who have themselves come out of lower-class culture, and have successfully moved into a more stable way of life--either working or middle-class--but have not rejected their past. Many mobile people tend to turn their backs on the culture from which they have come, and become more hostile toward it than anyone else. Yet there are some people who, in making the change, have developed a considerable amount of empathy toward both old and new culture. Since they know the conditions and the culture that are to be changed, and the way of life that is being sought by and for lower-class clients, they should be more successful in achieving rapport with such clients than are middle-class professionals. But while these empathic people exist in large numbers, they are hard to find."[18]

IV. CAREER DEVELOPMENT

In a discussion of the use of preprofessionals, it is essential that emphasis be placed on the concept of a career in contrast to a job. Careers imply permanence and opportunity for upward mobility. Careers are minimally affected by vicissitudes in the economic health of society. Careers carry an assurance that if one situation is terminated another situation will be available. The New Careers proposal argues that every person has the virtual assurance of at least horizontal mobility (increments of salary that come with years of service), and the opportunity for vertical mobility (advancement to the next station and there on to the terminal position). One very real danger in the implementation of the new employment programs, e.g., Concentrated Employment, Harris Amendments, etc. is that many persons might be given "dead end" jobs that are not a part of the existing merit system. The preprofessional employee must be allowed to participate in the regular employment system with entry to better jobs.

> "The New Careers theory proposes that all the human-service occupations (health, education, recreation, welfare, etc.) can be broken down and reorganized to provide a much more efficient service product, while simultaneously allowing people who have little or no training to play a productive role in entry service positions. These untrained individuals will have the opportunity of learning on the job, and rising in the service hierarchy with the ultimate option of becoming professionals.
>
> "The theory requires a reorganization and redefinition of jobs for both the professional and the nonprofessional. It not only breaks the job down into component parts, but also proposes new aspects of the job to be performed by nonprofessionals and to be performed by professionals. First, the theory proposes

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18 Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman, New Careers for the Poor (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 186.

that untrained nonprofessionals can perform a great many of the tasks now performed unnecessarily by professionals. Second, it proposes that a hierarchy of these jobs can be developed, requiring different degrees of training. Third, it proposes that this training can be acquired on the job itself and through systematic in-service training and job-based college courses, with the idea of providing people with employment first and diplomas later. Fourth, it proposes that this reorganization will free professionals to perform a much higher level of specialized services that require advanced training and experience."[19]

V. STAFF DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATIONAL RESTRUCTURING

As mentioned previously, selection and training of preprofessionals is an extremely important task for agency consideration. In addition to the specific training of this personnel, the redefinition of professional and preprofessional roles in the financial aid, service delivery, and the agency "outreach" systems would require orientation and training of all staff. A Memorandum prepared in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by the Task Force on Separation of Assistance and Social Services emphasized this point: "The development of any new system or change in agency organization policy or structure will involve a retraining of all staff, with particular emphasis on the provision of assistance and social services. In addition, each staff member, particularly in the worker, supervisor, and county director positions, will need specific training to the particular job which will be developed for each of these classes of positions."[20]

Pearl and Riessman emphasize certain problems to be considered in general training of preprofessionals. "The training of the nonprofessional will call for the recognition and solution of many problems; however certain issues should be anticipated in the course of training. Some of these are:

1. confidentiality;
2. acceptance and use of authority;
3. over-identification with the institution and under-identification with the community, or client population;
4. over-optimism and defeatism;
5. relationship of the nonprofessional to professionals both within and outside the organization.

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19 Frank Riessman, "The New Careers Concept," Vol. 49, No. 11, American Child, (Winter, 1967), p. 4.

20 Task Force on Separation of Assistance and Social Services, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services, Memorandum, April 13, 1967.

"Other issues to be considered in the training include: trainees becoming too involved in individual cases and being overwhelmed; destructive competition developing among nonprofessionals; anxiety over maintaining the job . . . issues relating to future career and the nature of the relationship of nonprofessionals with the community, e. g., does the community feel that the agency is coopting its best leaders, or are the nonprofessionals treated differently than they were before."[21]

With regard to training methodology, Pearl and Riessman stress the following seven points:

"1. continuous on-the-job training and almost immediate initiation to work;

2. an activity rather than lecture approach ('do rather than write') with a heavy emphasis on role playing and role training;

3. an intensive team approach aimed at building strong group solidarity among the nonprofessional workers in any given project;

4. informal individual supervision at any time on request, supplemented by group discussion and group supervision;

5. a down-to-earth teaching style, emphasizing concrete tasks presented in clarity and detail, which recognized that concepts and theory, if properly presented, are definitely within the reach of indigenous personnel;

6. utilization of the 'helper principle.' Whenever possible more experienced nonprofessionals should assist and teach their less advanced colleagues in dealing with various tasks;

7. freedom for the nonprofessional to develop his personal style."[22]

Obviously the content of the training program for the preprofessional personnel will depend largely on the particular task they will be performing in the agency. Most of the experience indicates, however, that role playing and "learning by doing" seems to be the preferred orientation technique.

One of the aspects of the New Career programs that should be considered and emphasized is that of the continuing educational experiences for the preprofessionals both through the agency staff development program and the educational institutions in the community. Like apprentices in the crafts who advance through stages from trainees to journeymen, such employees can be prepared for the professional positions in public welfare, by clearly defining levels of promotion and the training necessary to get to each level. Promotions would follow a stipulated number of night, correspondence, summer, or "release time" courses, plus credits given for on-the-job experience. Doing useful work the entire time, the apprentice can

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21 Pearl and Riessman, op. cit., p. 185.

22 Ibid., pp. 166-168.

reach the professional credential via a new route: getting the job first, then combining on-the-job training with built-in promotions based on experience and additional schooling. He can also remain at any level he chooses if he is unable or unwilling to continue up a career ladder, and he is still assured of useful employment. But the opportunity to move up is essential to the preprofessional concept.

In some cases, changes will be necessary for the movement to continue at all: changes in the civil service system must take place to permit the employment of aides whose formal education has been limited; job-based courses must be offered by community colleges and universities if the preprofessional is to develop a career line at all; new patterns of service must emerge to include the preprofessional assignment of meaningful responsibility and complementary team relationship to the professional.

An illustration of this within a public welfare setting would probably follow this process:

1. Entrance level in Services Unit--Social Welfare Aide or technician--would require high school diploma, but worker would receive equivalency with a certain period of time. Could then be eligible for promotion to -

2. Social Welfare Assistant--preferred requirement of two years of college, could be obtained through an arrangement with a community college through a combination of courses and experience, then -

3. Social Worker--college degree preferred, accomplished through extension and/or educational leave.

Although limited experience is available in training preprofessionals specifically for public welfare, there are a variety of models for such training that can be incorporated. The rich experience of several schools in training Peace Corps and Vista Volunteers is an excellent resource. In these programs, untrained personnel were prepared for extremely difficult assignments in urban and rural community development work. Many trainees had significant college training, but others had relatively little formal education.

One of the most interesting observations on the training and use of preprofessionals is a recent article by a preprofessional in the educational field. She says, "The indigenous worker should be trained to become an effective advocate for his community. Part of this training should focus on better understanding of the existing power structure, with emphasis on how to deal with it without losing his identity. He should be trained to be articulate, informed, and militant."[23]

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23 Carmen Normandia, "Characteristics and Role of Indigenous Workers," Personnel in Anti-Poverty Programs - Implications for Social Work Education (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1967), p. 65.

VI. UTILIZATION OF PREPROFESSIONALS IN RELATED FIELDS

Even though there is limited use of preprofessional personnel in public welfare, important experimental and innovative approaches to preprofessional employment can be found in local programs under a variety of governmental and foundation sponsorship. For example: 1) The New Careers Development Project in San Francisco has trained inmates and ex-offenders for roles both inside correctional institutions and in community development; 2) Police aides who work in police-community relations and delinquency control have been recruited and trained jointly by the Richmond Community Development Project in California and the Richmond Police Department; 3) At Howard University, the Center for Youth and Community Studies has pioneered in training "problem" youth for roles in research, recreation and community organization; 4) Neighborhood Service Centers developed by the Einstein Medical College and Lincoln Hospital in New York City are staffed by preprofessional mental-health aides who provide direct counseling and referral service to residents; 5) Programs developed by Mobilization for Youth in New York City are training a wide range of indigenous preprofessionals, some as social-service technicians and home-health technicians in conjunction with local hospitals; and 6) Youth case aides have been trained by the National Committee on Employment and Youth in a special project in which trainees represent a wide variety of educational and personal backgrounds--including ex-addicts and those with police records.

The health field has had a great deal of experience in the use of various preprofessional personnel. Two recent articles from this field are of particular interest. Dr. Donald Rice, in discussing one of the paradoxes in health development, stated: "The smaller the difference in educational level between health auxiliary workers and the general population, the more effective those workers will be." In developing countries, Dr. Rice says, "it has been repeatedly demonstrated that leaders with native intelligence but with minimum educational qualifications can be trained to be effective health workers, either curative or preventive." He cites work done in Java, Peru, and Ghana, and quotes a report from the latter which concludes: "There is little doubt that the well-trained and experienced auxiliary can show standards of skill which are comparable with that of the average medical man in performing his particular work, whether it be in examining slides for trypanosomes, in giving injections or in the performance of lumbar puncture."[24] The other article is a discussion of a project conducted by the Springfield, Massachusetts Health Department in conjunction with the Holyoke Community College for the training of public health workers. They are demonstrating "1. the potential usefulness of public health subprofessionals for providing general health services, traditionally the exclusive function of professionals; 2. the feasibility of recruiting trainees from the poverty class; and 3. the necessity for special education approaches and individualized attention to the needs of pupils to insure the success of the program."[25]

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24 Donald T. Rice, M.D., M.P.H., "Three Paradoxes in Health Development," Public Health Reports, U.S. Public Health Service (October 1966).

25 Bellin, Killeen, and Mazeika, "Preparing Public Health Subprofessionals Recruited from the Poverty Group - Lessons from an OEO Work-Study Program," American Journal of Public Health (February 1967).

One of the few evaluative articles to appear from a New Careers program contains the following statement:

> "Poor people forced out of work by technical advances resent make-work training programs which keep them near the bottom. The concept developed here is that poor people be trained for highly skilled and professional tasks and capacities which many have acquired by virtue of having lived in poverty. However, this new careers concept, which could move the poor into socially useful service, faces bureaucratic obstacles.
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> "Resistance to new careers is not purely rational. It is inherent in the virtually irresistible forces that influence organizational behavior. Organizations tend to make the means more important than the goals. Professionals, trained to be jealous of their skills, are wary of competition from the 'new careerist.' Attempts to blur the lines between the helper and helped, and the privileged and the non-privileged can be expected to meet excited resistance. The new careerist causes the organization uncertainty and discomfort by making the problems visible.
>
> "Organizations differ from each other in many ways. Awareness of these differences can do much to neutralize the negative impact of bureaucratic structure. Organizations which are most receptive to the new careers programs are those which have the following: (1) a variety of staff members; (2) a great degree of relatedness to the community; (3) a strong commitment to community service ideologies."[26]

VII. CONCLUSIONS AND ISSUES

To summarize, we propose that:

1. The public welfare system should utilize the poor as employees: to help the agency become more responsive to the poor; to provide the agency with desperately needed manpower; to make it possible to concentrate professional time on professional tasks; and to provide employment for recipients and potential recipients.

2. With a revised welfare system including the separation of aid and services, there are at least four areas of agency operation where preprofessionals could be utilized: Clerical; Financial Aid Delivery System; Service Delivery System; and Communications System.

3. Rather than the traditional emphasis on educational achievement, entrance requirements and selection criteria of the preprofessional should stress the importance of the life experiences the applicant possesses and the capacity to learn and to develop.

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26 Robert Pruger and Harry Specht, Working with Organizations to Develop "New Careers" Programs (Unpublished mimeograph, October 1966).

4. No proposal for the use of preprofessionals is valid unless specific plans for career development have been considered. The poor should not be further frustrated through "dead end" jobs.

5. The use of preprofessionals places an additional training responsibility on the agency not only for the new employees, but a reorientation for all staff. Certain issues should be anticipated in a course of training. Although the content of the training will depend on the task, the generally accepted techniques are largely "learning by doing."

6. Even though there is limited experience in the use of preprofessional personnel in public welfare, important experimental and innovative approaches can be found in other human service programs.

In the use of preprofessional personnel there are a number of issue questions that present a challenge to innovative and imaginative public welfare leaders.

1. Should preprofessionals be assigned to a wide range of tasks with great freedom in carrying them out, or should they rather have more circumscribed assignments?

2. Will the increasing role of employed preprofessionals limit the use of volunteers in the social services? Is it possible to delineate different functions for volunteers and preprofessionals?

3. While it seems likely that a fair number of low-income people can be trained to perform efficiently in new career positions, is it really possible to train thousands of the poor to do these jobs? In other words, is the initial success we have been witnessing a function of selecting the most motivated and best equipped low-income candidates?

4. Is interest in preprofessional human service positions likely to be limited more to the female sex? Will it be increasingly difficult to recruit unemployed males after the "cream of the crop" has been removed?

5. Is it necessary to always employ "indigenous" preprofessionals, or is it wise in some cases to hire low-income people from other neighborhoods?

6. Is it wise to "tinker with" important service functions by employing untrained preprofessional people?

7. Can the employment of preprofessionals really play a decisive role in the structure, programs, character, style of work and adequate scope and coverage of social service? Or is their role likely to be that of handmaidens or "aides" to professionals, performing minor tasks that expand the job market for the poor but leave the character of the professions and the quality and quantity and scope of service essentially untouched?

8. What about the supervisory and managerial roles in the agency? Is there a limitation to the "level of aspiration" of the preprofessional within the welfare system? Can a preprofessional who has availed himself of educational opportunities both within and outside the agency, and has demonstrated "leadership potential," aspire to positions of an administrative nature?

9. Is there likely to emerge considerable misplaced enthusiasm on the part of some professionals who will attempt to assign preprofessionals to tasks not uniquely suited to their special skills, but rather requiring specific professional skills?

10. Are the new positions and the related training to serve mainly for rehabilitation and attitude change, or are they to have as their primary function the development of skills and careers?

11. What is the extent of the fiscal advantage which may accrue to the public generally, and to the individual particularly, if preprofessionals are employed in significant numbers?

Thorough consideration of these questions in agencies planning to move into the job opportunity--service enrichment possibilities will assist in designing a feasible and effective operation. It may even be enhanced if some of the consideration also involves use of concepts developed in Supplements 1 and 4 of this series.

PUBLICATIONS LIST

In addition to the present supplement, the Technical Assistance Project of the American Public Welfare Association has issued the following publications:

Public Welfare -- Challenge to Validity (July, 1967). This is the basic position paper of the Project.

Client Involvement in the Public Welfare System: Communication and Participation by William Friedlander (Supplement No. 1 to Challenge to Validity, December, 1967).

Finding Welfare Dollars by Tom Joe (Supplement No. 3 to Challenge to Validity, February, 1968).

Community Action for Public Welfare Reform by William Friedlander (Supplement No. 4 to Challenge to Validity, April, 1968).

Further supplements to the basic document of the Technical Assistance Project, Public Welfare -- Challenge to Validity, are in preparation.

Agency members of the American Public Welfare Association and interested individuals can obtain a reasonable number of copies of the above publications or of the present supplement free of charge by addressing a request to:

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